1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'eŋ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltai tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba"kumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa"ci, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[956] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a ● 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

---

[1]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number [177] who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. [825] Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [848] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned [764] that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled [789] with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism [795] is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute [756] by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P. 381, B]

825
771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

[773]

784
224
227
841
[562]
[783]

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
● 825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
[525] game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832]

cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] 825 789 778

Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763

The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

825

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182

The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [825] [771]

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W [361]

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

W N [177]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224
[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

177
178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

124
231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

281
825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
77 view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
177 are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
171 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

195
825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musĕge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musĕge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W [222 825]

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

W [262] 361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W [262] 365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.